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ABSTRACT

In the years following the Eleventh Party Congress of 1977, China's leadership has shown a renewed interest in cultural borrowing and, subsequently, points of cultural contact with other countries have greatly increased. Many students and scholars have been sent abroad, and many foreign teachers have been invited to China. Between 1978 and 1980, 5,192 Chinese scientists were sent to 44 different countries, and 1,835 went to the United States alone. Before 1978 most foreign teachers in China taught their native languages, but by 1981 foreign teachers in China could be found in a wide variety of subject areas. Apart from foreign teachers, the Chinese people have also gained knowledge through interaction with foreign students in their country. The ultimate value of these exchanges will depend on whether the Chinese leadership can evolve a social philosophy enabling them to borrow selectively and whether this can inspire China's young people to view the foreign world critically. At the moment, however, China's intelligentsia appear to be without a critical approach to foreign borrowing. Educational science in China remains at a low level, and the political effects of the trend toward cultural borrowing remain to be seen. (KH)

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CHINA'S IMMEDIATE FUTURE: RENEWED CULTURAL BORROWING

by

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Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Australian and New Zealand Comparative International Education Society (10th, Sydney, NSW, Australia, November 24-26, 1982).

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China's Immediate Future: Renewed Cultural Borrowing

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A history of Chinese education during the past one hundred years and more must largely concern itself with the effects of cultural borrowing. Had the results been beneficial one might almost have reckoned that Europe was paying, directly and indirectly through Japan and the USA, its debts from the past when she herself had learnt so much from China. The shape of China's school system was consciously borrowed from the USA: six years of primary school followed by three years each of junior, then senior high school. A mixed British and American tertiary school pattern was replaced by the Soviet model in the early fifties: a few universities and a host of monotechnical institutes. Within the schools organisation and curriculum was borrowed in succession from Japan, Europe, the USA, and then Europe again. The USSR, like Japan before, was seen as the distiller, this time of socialist wisdom.

Ironically, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) which broke out in 1966 and included a considerable amount of hostility to things foreign, the major improvements in education proposed had all featured previously abroad. While their foreign origin was clearly largely unrecognised like names Rousseau, Dewey, Krupskaya or Shul'gin in China surely flitted through the minds of foreign observers of this revolution to "change the soul" and relate education to the world of work.

In the years following the 11th. Party Congress of August, 1977, the attempts to implement the new economic policy of "four modernisations" (agriculture, industry, science and technology, and national defence) have again brought conscious borrowing to the fore and flowers of cultural contact have been blooming on an unprecedented scale. While the main emphasis has been on raising standards in science and technology hardly a field of cultural endeavour has been neglected. Whether in the drafting of new laws, handling paleontological specimens, or producing an English language daily newspaper, foreign experience is being studied in ways unthinkable only a few years ago. Not surprisingly there remain hesitations and not all things foreign, nor all foreigners wishing to poke and probe into things Chinese are equally welcome. But the scope and character of the changes make it important to attempt some assessment.

Who is Borrowing What?

Taking the "what? first, it is clear that those who occupy the major decision-making positions in China still think like their predecessors near the turn of the century. Slightly reinterpreted perhaps, their slogan could still be the words of Zhang Zhidong (1898): Zhongxu wei ti, xixue wei yong, (Chinese learning for the fundamental principles; western learning for practical application). Whether sending students and scholars abroad or inviting teachers to work in China the emphasis is on skills of language and on science and technology.

In the major capitalist countries there has been considerable discussion of the value-laden nature of technology and science. But I can detect no such concern in China. In the propaganda supporting modernisation science is assumed to be neutral and even what distinguishes socialism has become hard to discern. Made cynical by sharp changes of policy and repudiation of past positions, the intelligentsia appear to be left without a theoretical basis for a critical approach to the foreign experience which many of them are being exposed to. They have no well-founded standard by which to measure what they might learn from abroad.

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It is true that the Chinese Communist Party is expressing concern about the moral-political education of the young, and about the low level of political education among many Party and government leaders. But the criteria on which this concern is based gives one little hope that it will result in the spread of understanding of a kind required for this problem. (China aktuell, Mai 1982. p.255; Honggi.9.1982.pp.39-41). Nor, one must remember, is it only a question of understanding, for much borrowing will be unconscious and imperceptible - which is all the more reason for the Communist Party to take it seriously and bring the issues out into the open in an all-sided way.

Turning to "who" is doing the borrowing, it is possible to be rather more exact. Until the current census figures have been analysed it will not be easy to put a figure on the size of the population directly affected. But clearly three overlapping groups are the most significant. These are the 5,296,000 scientific and technical personnel reported for 1980 by the State Statistical Bureau (Guangming ribao.30 April, 1981.p.3), the 3,178,000 graduates of tertiary schools between 1949-80 and the 247,000 teachers in tertiary schools (Education in China, pp.27-30). It is members of these groups who in the main will be chosen to go abroad to study and who will be working alongside foreigners in China itself. They will also be involved in translating the foreign experience for transmission to wider groups, whether literally by translation of foreign writings into Chinese, or such ways as adopting foreign methods of performing some task. The permutations are endless and the tracing of influence elusive. In addition, other groups are affected. Many with less than tertiary qualifications will listen to foreign broadcasts, whether to improve their language ability or from desire to learn more than that. Many others will go abroad as workers or work alongside foreigners in the new projects involving foreigners in China.

While it is clear that efforts continue to be made to control the process of contact it is not clear that these are the result of any well thought out plan for borrowing. Moreover, with the devolution of responsibility for initiating contacts the execution of any such plan would become increasingly difficult. Control of the employment of foreigners in China has devolved from the Foreign Experts Bureau of the State Council, now concerned only with longer-term appointments, to the Foreign Specialists Division of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Ministry of Education, and even below them to individual tertiary education institutions and research bodies. The Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Social Sciences and various professional societies (China Exchange Newsletter, April.1979.pp.4-6) also increasingly make direct contacts with individuals and groups abroad, and invite visitors to China. In the sphere of business, of industry and agriculture, the bodies involved range widely from the Ministries in Beijing to individual farms. It is not clear at present whether there is a pattern of initiative, but the range of contact seems dependent on the authority of the inviting organ. (Nylan.p.128). But the restrictions appear to be arbitrary and not at all concerned with any thought-through plan to make borrowing more effective.

The Lenders: Cultural Imperialism?

This is not the place to argue case for imperialism, cultural or otherwise. It is a complex and controversial concept still insufficiently examined, especially as to the role of conscious intent and the unintended working out of the global system. Some insight into the former, the "conspiratorial" aspects of imperialism, appear in such books as The imperial brain trust by Shoup and Minter. They show the connection between the National Committee on U.S. - China Relations and the Council on Foreign Relations (pp.210-11), and argue that the latter has, since its foundation after the first world war, increasingly represented the interests of the United States' "corporate upper class" (p.6) in

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formulating successive government foreign policies. While it is not fashionable to express these corporate interests openly these days they are clearly read between the lines of many speeches and writings. Education in the broad sense fits into the picture in promoting the "shared understanding of the central issues involved" about which Brzezinski wrote in connection with the influential Trilateral Commission (Shoup and Minter.p.268). But while Brzezinski was thinking about understanding between the leaders of the metropolitan nations what is pertinent to questions of cultural borrowing in China has been more clearly stated elsewhere. The radical North American Congress on Latin America, talking about reforms in Latin American universities commented:

> Thus, foreign corporations are assured of well-trained, upwardly mobile and ideologically compatible elites and technicians who hope to use foreign interests to advance their own careers, and who do not see their interests as inherently conflicting with those of foreign investors. (cited. Carnoy.p.337.n.25).

Official statements by such bodies as the British Council, while ignoring questions of imperialism, make plain the interest which they believe themselves to be serving. Sir John Llewellyn, writing in the British Council Report for 1978-79, cited the August, 1978, White Paper on Overseas Representation as guiding the work of the Council. British foreign policy was given as: safeguarding security; promoting prosperity; upholding and extending basic values and freedoms of our democracy; and honouring commitments and obligations contributing to the achievement of these by providing assistance to developing countries. (Council Report. p.5). Translating these into specifically British Council terms Sir John Llewellyn stressed that

> We are not do-gooders. We are not disinterested.

Rather, he saw the Council's task as

> creating a climate of opinion favourable to Britain's long-term interests.

More recently Jocelyn Chey, writing in The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs on the work of the Australia-China Council also commented that it is "not an aid organisation, and must bear Australian interests in mind". That interest she earlier identified as trade and an undefined "political relationship" (p.137) and "more reciprocal advantages for Australians who want to visit China, for study or for professional reasons" (p.140).

It remains for critics to demonstrate (a) the imperialist nature of these interests and potential borrowings by China; and (b) any conflicts between the interests of investment, trade and cultural exchanges and those of what might be termed the non-corporate middle and lower classes of the metropolitical countries, i.e. within the lender countries themselves.

When one turns from the sponsoring organisations to the personnel involved in cultural exchanges at the field level one is immediately struck by the great variety, at least on the non-Chinese side. Those Chinese travelling abroad are probably a more uniform group, though these range from the pre-Liberation foreign-trained intellectual of upper class background to young members of the intelligentsia who owe their position to the post-Liberation school system. Nor are they apparently uniform in their political ideas, other than a sense of Chinese patriotism. Foreigners working in China range from business representatives, government officials, technical experts, teachers and students. Their attitude to China ranges from a much diminished group of people for whom the Chinese political system is seen as their utopia to the openly critical and even hostile.

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A majority fall into what might be termed the critically sympathetic, for it seems that China continues to exert a fascination on those who visit her, however independent and level-headed they may be. It should not be necessary to stress that the lessons which they impart may only be accidentally congruent with their personal beliefs and attitudes, learning being a function of the total interaction including the previous state of the learners and the learning situation itself. Chinese educational studies remain at such a low level at present that no one appears to have examined the "hidden curricula" of Chinese-foreigner interaction in recent decades and there are all too few reliable accounts of the open.[1]

I now propose to examine specific aspects of the cultural interchange, pointing out what we know and might like to know if a proper assessment were to be made.

Which Countries?

The role of English as the major international language and the dominant economic and political role of the USA in world affairs dictates the pattern of cultural interchange. In 1979 The New China News Agency reported that of the 2,230 Chinese studying in 33 countries 500 were in the USA, 300 in Great Britain, some 200 in France and the Federal Republic of Germany and 100 in Japan. In percentage terms that is 22.4 per cent in the USA, 13.5 per cent in Britain, or 35.9 per cent in the two major English speaking countries. Other countries mentioned in the report were Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Italy, The People's Republic of Korea, Kuwait, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Rumania, Sweden, Switzerland and Jugoslavia. (China aktuell.November.1979.p.1188).

The USSR, where so many thousands of Chinese studied during the nineteen fifties, no longer features as a venue, but it is interesting to note a continued interest in things Soviet among academics. In November, 1979, a group of 12 Chinese from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Beijing Institute of International Studies and the Beijing Institute on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe paid a visit to the United States. They held meetings and seminars at Columbia University's Russian Institute, the Russian Research Institute at Harvard University, the University of California at Berkely, Stanford University, the RAND Corporation and the University of California at Los Angeles. In January, 1980, Professor Marshall Goldman of Harvard University had talks with several of the delegation while visiting Beijing and lectured at the Institutes of World Politics and World Economy of the Academy of Social Sciences and at Beijing University. His topics were: Soviet petroleum; US-Soviet relations in the wake of the Afghanistan invasion; and the Soviet economy in the year 2000. (China Exchange News, February.1980.pp.17-8).

On another level continued interest in the Soviet Union is expressed by the publication of translations of books by Soviet educators. Among those I have noted on visits in 1981 and 1982 were: V.A. Sukhomlinsky, Have faith in man, Moscow, 1960, Jiaoyu Kexue Chubanshe (Education and Scientific Press), 50,000 in 1981; L.V. Zankov, Education and development, Moscow, 1975; Wenhua Jiaoyu Chubanshe (Culture and Education Press), Beijing, 20,000 copies, 1980; V.I. Yadeshko and F.A. Sokhina (eds.), Preschool pedagogy, Moscow, 1978, Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe (People's Education Press), Beijing, 20,000 copies in 1981 and 1982. During a lecture on educational theory to students of a provincial teachers university which I attended, brief mention was made of the ideas of both Zankov and Sukhomlinsky.(1981). But I have neither heard nor read critical comment on these ideas and have no idea how they are presented or received.

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Chinese Abroad

Since the new policy of sending academics abroad began in 1978, up to the end of September, 1980, altogether 5,192 scientists and students were sent to 44 different countries, 1,835 of them to the USA alone. (China aktuell.November. 1980.p.942). These were sent officially and figures do not include those who went privately during the same period. The China Daily (17.August 1982, p.1) reported that by the end of June, 1982, 3,500 students had returned to China, one hundred of them with Ph.D.s. The same report gave a figure of more than 12,000 "undergraduates, post-graduates and visiting scholars" as having been abroad in 54 countries since 1978. A more detailed report by the New China News Agency on 14 November 1981 mentioned a figure of 6,709 students sent to 52 countries by the Ministry of Education since 1976. (China aktuell.November.1981. pp.717-18). Eighty per cent of these studied engineering and the natural sciences. In addition the Chinese Academy of Sciences sent more than a thousand young scientists abroad. Their fields included Agronomy, Animal Husbandary, Light Industry, Management, Energy and Law. In the previous two years more than 400 Chinese had attended more than 200 seminars or conferences abroad. In addition some 50 Chinese tertiary institutions had concluded some form of relationship with 80 tertiary institutions in the USA. As well as students going abroad some 120 Chinese Professors and university lecturers had taught for short periods abroad while a further 40 had been abroad for short lecture tours.

While the numbers of Chinese studying in Australia has naturally been less spectacular it would seem that they have not done badly in qualitative terms. Students first arrived under the new official exchange in 1974 and by 1981 totalled 48 undergraduates and post-graduates. On 8 January 1981 seven of these students graduated with Master of Arts at Sydney University, six of them in literature and one in linguistics. Their success was followed in 1982 when a further four students obtained Masters in Education at La Trobe University in Melbourne. Their studies had included linguistics and literature. A further four Chinese obtained Diplomas in the Humanities at La Trobe University after taking various courses in such fields as International Affairs, American History and Economcis.

Any thorough assessment of what Chinese students and others learn while abroad would have to take into account much more than the courses of study and other formal learning situations to which they are exposed. Judging from limited observtion of the situation in Australia it would seem that contact is limited to well-to-do middle classes, mainly academics, on the one hand, and members of the Australia-China Society on the other - an overlapping group, but with rather different political viewpoints. Some of us might think this is an unsettling and at the same time somewhat unchallenging political experience, falling far short of the education required to assist students to understand the world.

Foreign Teachers in China

Until the post-1978 period it was rare for foreign teachers to teach anything other than their native languages. Recruitment was, and remains dominated by recommendation, often current teachers putting the Chinese in touch with their successors. While the Chinese authorities have become more sensitive to qualifications than they were in the sixties and advertisements even include such phrases as:

> preference will be given to those teachers who have some ESL training (Australia-China Newsletter.March.1982.p.8).

this does little to ensure the results are satisfactory. The gulf in teaching methods between China and classes abroad where modern language teaching methods

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have been applied is so great that those qualified in the latter are often psychologically unprepared to cope with the difficulties of adjustment. Those who over the years have attempted to introduce more modern methods, and this began at least with those of us who taught there in the mid-sixties (cf. Price. 1970.pp.172-90), appear to have run up against a barrier which has theoretical as well as organisational underpinnings. Students and teachers alike, while paying lip-service to current slogans about "speaking first ..." or whatever, return in the end to methods of rote learning, grammar and translation. In spite of promising signs in 1965 at such places as the First Foreign Languages Institute in Beijing it would seem that the only change which can be claimed today is the uncritical admission of foreign materials and official support for hardware like language laboratories whose value in conditions of China is more than doubtful.

One positive change which is probably at least partly the result of foreign contact is the expressed dissatisfaction with the typical Institute English course, currently four years of language study. John Deeney, in his report on "The state of American history and literature studies in the PRC", writes of dissatisfaction in both the Shanghai and Xi'an Foreign Languages Institute, and desire there to broaden studies in the English Departments to include such subjects as the politics, economics, sociology "and even anthropology" of the English-speaking countries. (Deeney,pp.36-7 and 47-8). In talks at the Shaanxi Shifan Daxue and Beijing Shifan Xueyuan I found confirmation of these views. Already at the former there are courses in both English and American literature during the third and fourth year of the English language courses and these are probably widespread at present.

In addition to employing foreign language teachers for periods of one year and more and integrating them into the normal language courses various Chinese authorities, usually at least in conjunction with the central Ministry of Education, have invited groups of foreign teachers to hold special language courses. The British Council has held vacation courses regularly since 1975 in such places as Qingdao, Chongging, Beijing and Nanjing. Teacher training courses and English for Science and Technology courses have been held in Nanjing, Shanghai and Chengdu and at least one three-month course has been held in Xi'an. (British Council Report, 1980-81). In 1981 a joint project was started between the Second Foreign Languages Institute in Beijing and the Canberra College of Advanced Education, Australia. Under the Australian Development Assistance Bureau, which is expected to spend $A.2 million on the project, classes of scientists and technologists are being taught English by a mixed team of Chinese and foreigners in Beijing while some 50 Chinese language teachers will receive training in Canberra over a number of years. The aim appears to be a combination of language training and teacher training. One of the problems which such a project has is that Chinese language teachers know no science and in my experience many are neither widely technically read nor feel the need to be. It would be interesting to know what plans the Canberra team has to overcome this. Returning to an earlier point, classes in the political, etc. culture of the English-speaking world will not help future teachers of Special (science] English meet this particular hurdle.

Related to foreign language teaching is the question of testing, and here again it would seem that the Chinese authorities are uncritically accepting foreign models. In 1981 a formal agreement was signed in Washington between the American Educational Testing Service and the Chinese Ministry of Education. The latter set up a special agency, the China International Examinations Coordination Bureau for the Administration of the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) and the Graduate Record Examination (GRE). The former appears to have been made a test for the receipt of government funding to study abroad. While of course some guide as to standards is necessary there is doubt as to whether the particular cultural content of the TOEFL makes it the best which could have been

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chosen. Also there are already signs that this examination will react down into the schooling system and students and teachers will become more concerned with passing the test than with learning English. Unfortunately there are few signs that the authorities, at least at university level, are sufficiently aware of testing theory to deal with such problems, or even, perhaps, to detect them. (China Exchange News.September.1981.p.13].

While according to the New China News Agency there were by 1981 some 500 foreign teachers of foreign languages and the social sciences a further 300 annually paid shorter visits to lecture on a wide variety of subjects. (China aktuell.November.1981.p.718). Potentially significant is the support being provided under the Fulbright programme to influence Chinese English language programmes in the direction of American Studies. In 1980 the first team of 11 Fulbright lecturers went to Beijing University, Tianjin University, the Beijing First Foreign Languages Institute and the Shanghai Foreign Languages Institute to teach English language. In 1981, in addition to six language teachers a further six Americans went to teach history and literature. Plans for September, 1982 were to send 13 lecturers and to include economics, law and political science. In 1983 and beyond the US International Communication Agency, which is responsible for the programme, is planning to concentrate on "developing a strong American studies programme in China through the exchange of American lecturers and Chinese students and scholars" (China Exchange News.June.1982.p.15). While one can only agree with the general principle of Chinese learning more about the realities of foreign countries one hopes that the lure of foreign aid and the energy with which the Americans appear to be pushing their policy will not bias the direction of such learning. As was mentioned earlier, English is an international language, and not solely an American one, and besides the other countries of British descent there are significant parts of Africa and Asia where English is of major importance. However, this does not appear to be reflected in the teaching programmes of those Chinese institutions which I have seen.

Another area in which Chinese academics seem to be looking abroad for advice is education and educational psychology. Since outside China these are controversial areas in which the relation between theory and practice is highly problematical one wonders what useful things the Chinese can learn. It is to be hoped that they will be able to tap a variety of schools of thought, and especially those which have tried to get away from education and psychology as bodies of theory to be memorized, as clearly the present Chinese materials in these subjects are. But it is more likely that what will prove attractive are courses and materials closer to the traditional Chinese academic pattern.

Libraries

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Many of those who have taught in China have remarked on the underuse of the many remarkable collections of foreign language materials which are stacked away in the libraries of China's tertiary institutions. Access to these and other materials appears to be hierarchically controlled in a way which far exceeds anything practised in the major countries abroad. This, together with the gulf in understanding which separates foreign advisors and Chinese administrators and teachers makes one sceptical of the current wave of aid for libraries which is being planned. One such scheme is that the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, recipient of funds through the recent China Claims Settlement and thus able to begin again a mission which many had thought ended in 1951. Under an agreement with the Chinese Ministry of Education and the Chinese Society for Education the United Board proposes to devote a large part of their funds for the nex three years to the provision of books, periodicals and library equipment such as copying machines and microfiche readers. Books will provided by American book distributors on the advice of representatives appointed by the United Board. The main immediate beneficiaries will be Sichuan University in Chengdu and Shaanxi Teachers University in Xi'an. (China Exchange News.June.1981.p.1).

Students and Other Contacts

While foreign students by definition go to China to learn rather than to teach, yet they may provide models of the foreigner for many Chinese in situations where this can exert great influence. It is part of my argument that cultural borrowing is not necessarily a conscious process and such influences as contact with students at a formative stage of life may be more significant than, or at least as significant as conscious borrowing. The latter can often be very superficial and easily cast off again when the foreign influence or aid is removed.

Two things, however, contribute to making the influence of foreign contact relatively small. Considering only the students, they remain, in spite of recent increases in contact with universities abroad, rather few in numbers and confined for the most part to a handful of the major tertiary institutions: the Beijing Yuyan Xueyuan (Languages Institute); Shenyang University, Fudan University in Shanghai, and more recently such institutions as Beijing Shifan Xueyuan (Teachers Institute) and Shaanxi Shifan Daxue (Teachers University) in Xi'an. The New China News Agency report of November 1981 speaks of 2,000 foreign students in China (China aktuell.November.1981.p.717). (This compares with 1,144,000 Chinese students spread through 675 tertiary institutions in 1980, Ministry of Education figures in Education in China, pp.27-30). Contact is further reduced by the policy of segregation which, though reduced, continues. While students, in contrast to foreign teachers and other "experts", are normally housed on campus they have often been taught separately and there are many reports of difficulties in maintaining friendly relations with Chinese students. Sally Borthwick, in China in 1974-75 before the easing of relations, speaks sensitively about relations between the foreign students and the "foreign students' office" of Fudan University:

> At the time, there were frequent ripples in our relationship, deriving I think partly from uncertainty as to whether their primary task was to minister to our needs or to keep us in line. We found over-protection and restriction to be two sides of the same coin; it was assumed that we would find it difficult to live under Chinese student conditions. (Fitzgerald and Hewitt.p.33).

Issues she cites include sharing a room with a Chinese student and whether foreigners should or should not eat with their fellow, Chinese, students. Anne McLaren, also at Fudan, but in 1978-79, speaks of her "great good fortune" in being there at a period "characterised by an almost unparalleled freedom of contact between foreigners and ordinary Chinese people". But at the same time she speaks of only a "partial breakdown of the policy of excluding foreigners from Chinese society" (Fitzgerald and Hewitt.p.161). Room sharing, which according to Michael Nylan

> many American graduates regard ... as the single most important means for understanding Chinese culture today. (Nylan.p.131 - AJCA).

was reported to be under threat in 1980 and is certainly not universally practised. All these things are important if familiarity is to reach a point where understanding, let along borrowing is to take place. Those who have experienced the gulf expressed in the epithet "waiguo ren" (foreigner) will know the distance which must be crossed. (cf. Pamela Hewitt in Fitzgerald and Hewitt, pp.147-53).

Here one might pause to consider how that other source of contact with the foreigner, tourism, may affect the stereotypes and contribute, positively or negatively, to greater understanding. The great majority of foreign tourists

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move about in groups and apart from Chinese serving them in shops and hotels or students attempting to practise their languages make little contact other than visual. Also their numbers (some 160,000 in 1979 - China aktuell.February.1980. p.96] and restricted locations limit their impact. It would seem that a major impression they are likely to reinforce in the affluence of foreign countries, an impression the much more numerous overseas Chinese visitors are likely to further stamp in. (They accounted for some 800,000 visitors in 1979 - same source).

Conclusion

Compared with the earlier periods of cultural borrowing China now appears to be much stronger and united, while in the past few years the capitalist world has again displayed its capacity to create unemployment and misery on an astounding scale. But this is a focus which probably fails to reveal the key surfaces of interaction. For government leaders and technologists the lure of high technology and the wealth and power of immediate contacts may hide from view the subtle social values and structures embedded in the borrowables. Those wishing to erect a legal system which will protect them from another Proletarian Cultural Revolution or facilitate implementation of foreign contracts lack the anarcho-marxist suspicians of a Mao Zedong. Patriarchal traditions, Russian Communist Party styles of authoritarianism and the lack of a strong, democratic challenge from below combine to make foreign borrowing a real threat. In the guise of scientific efficiency American business methods and the paraphenalia of the "diploma disease" may be seen as attractive to the aspiring among the intelligentsia. The understandable need for greater comfort and greater personal freedom may result in the adoption of foreign standards and values, thus further exascerbating the urban-rural and mental-manual labour divisions till these destroy the policy of modernisation which the borrowing was intended to assist.

What will happen will depend on whether the Chinese leadership can evolve a social philosophy enabling them to corrow consciously and selectively and whether this can inspire her young people to view the foreign world critically. This is not the same as taking the technology without its embodied values, but is making a new synthesis. If this is not done cultural imperialism could become a fact and China could again be made safe for foreign investment or be a source of cheap labour and raw materials. In the immediate future the more probably scenario is continued hesitations and fears, especially at middle levels of decision-making, which will hamper learning from abroad and inhibit those who might otherwise strike out along new and critical paths.

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Notes

I. One of these is Fitzgerald and Hewitt, 1980. The Australian Teachers Federation is among those collecting reports from those of its members who have taught in China.

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